

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4737

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 BELGRADE 0657

DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV, PA FOR MR. RESTON,
DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. SCHECTER FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S STATEMENT ON
SOVIET POSITION AT BELGRADE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR

BEGIN TEXT:

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I BELIEVE OUR CONFERENCE IS AT THE STAGE OF ITS WORK WHERE
WE NEED TO ASSESS THE SITUATION. AS OUR GREATEST PRESIDENT
AND CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, WHO BROUGHT US
THROUGH CIVIL WAR AND ENDED SLAVERY, SAID, IF WE KNOW WHERE WE
ARE, WE CAN KNOW WHERE WE ARE GOING. MY VIEW IS THIS: THE FIRST
PART OF OUR CONFERENCE, WHICH ESSENTIALLY ENDED AT THE CHRISTMAS
RECESS, WAS LARGELY SUCCESSFUL. WE DID ENGAGE -- AS THE FINAL ACT
MANDATED US TO DO -- IN A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. IT IS
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TRUE, UNFORTUNATELY, THAT WHEN WE DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS WE
DID NOT ACHIEVE THE CANDID DIALOGUE THAT THE UNITED STATES
DELEGATION AND OTHERS WOULD HAVE WELCOMED. WE HAD HOPED TO
DISCUSS CALMLY, RATIONALLY AND THOROUGHLY NOT ONLY OUR OWN VIEWS
OF THE SHORTCOMINGS OF OTHERS, BUT THE VIEWS OF OTHERS
ABOUT OUR OWN PERCEIVED SHORTCOMINGS. SUCH IS THE PROCEDURE
THAT I BELIEVE IS REQUIRED BY THE FINAL ACT. IT IS A HEALTHY

WAY OF FURTHERING DETENTE.

AS THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE AND OFFICIAL ORGANS OF THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE SAID THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION DID TAKE THE LEADERSHIP IN SEEKING TO FOCUS DISCUSSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION AND BELIEF. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES AND MEDIA DID NOT CHARACTERIZE MY COMMENTS AS HONEST, BUT BIASED, I MAKE NO APOLOGIES FOR THIS BECAUSE SUCH DISCUSSION IS REQUIRED. I BELIEVE THAT TRUTH MAY HURT FOR A LITTLE WHILE, BUT JUSTICE, PROGRESS AND UNDERSTANDING -- THE ESSENCE OF GENUINE DETENTE -- CAN ONLY BE ATTAINED WITH CANDOR AND HONESTY.

THIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS SPOKEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO SPEAK FRANKLY. I WILL SO SPEAK TODAY. YOU WILL RECALL DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, THAT SEVERAL DELEGATIONS HAVE REFERRED TO HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE, FOR EXAMPLE, IN OUR IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW RAISED THE CASE KNOWN AS THE WILMINGTON 10. WHEN HE DID SO, I RESPONDED THAT THE CASE WAS SUB JUDICE, THAT IS, IT WAS THEN BEING REVIEWED IN THE COURT SYSTEM OF THE APPROPRIATE STATE, NORTH CAROLINA. IT WOULD THEREFORE HAVE BEEN INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO HAVE EXPRESSED ANY SUBSTANTIVE VIEWS, EVEN ON A PERSONAL BASIS. THAT JUDICIAL REVIEW IN THE STATE COURTS IS NOW EFFECTIVELY OVER. THE VERDICTS HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED, AND THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA HAS REDUCED THE UNCLASSIFIED

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SENTENCES OF THE NINE INDIVIDUALS WHO REMAIN IN JAIL.

I WILL NOW SPEAK PERSONALLY ABOUT THIS CASE, AS A CONCERNED HUMAN BEING, AND I EMPHASIZE PERSONALLY. I HAVE READ THE REPORT OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, AND I HAVE LOOKED INTO THIS CASE. MY PERSONAL VIEW -- AND I MUST EMPHASIZE THAT HERE I AM NOT SPEAKING ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF MY GOVERNMENT -- MY PERSONAL BELIEF IS THAT, UNDER ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE HUMANITARIAN PROVISIONS THAT PERVADE THE FINAL ACT, THE SENTENCES OF THE MEN IN JAIL SHOULD BE COMPLETELY REMITTED.

I PERSIST, MR. CHAIRMAN, IN THE HOPE THAT A SIMILAR STATEMENT COULD BE MADE BY THE DISTINGUISHED SOVIET AMBASSADOR ABOUT ANY OF THE NUMEROUS SPECIFIC CASES ABOUT WHICH I AND MY DELEGATION HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN DURING OUR CONFERENCE. BUT I MUST NOTE WITH REGRET, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT EVEN SINCE WE RESUMED OUR MEETING IN THE NEW YEAR, THERE HAVE BEEN FURTHER TROUBLING ARRESTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND FURTHER REPORTS OF THE IMMINENCE OF TRIALS. I WOULD RECALL MY WORDS, IN THIS ROOM, OF A WEEK AGO TUESDAY WHEN WE RESUMED: "SIGNATORY STATES -- WHILE OUR MEETING IS UNDERWAY AND AFTERWARD, SINCE THE HELSINKI PROCESS

IS, WE ALL AGREE, A CONTINUING ONE -- SHOULD REFRAIN FROM
REPRESSIVE MEASURES WHICH CAN ONLY SERVE TO HINDER OUR
DELIBERATIONS OR MAKE A MOCKERY OF THEM."

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4738

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 5 BELGRADE 0657

DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV, PA FOR MR. RESTON,
DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. SCHECTER FROM USDEL CSCE

IT HAS BEEN SAID BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET
UNION AND SOME OTHER EASTERN DELEGATIONS THAT THE UNITED
STATES PUTS TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANT CIVIL LIBERTARIAN
HUMAN RIGHTS AND NOT ENOUGH ON, FOR EXAMPLE, JOBS. THE UNITED
STATES GIVES EQUAL WEIGHT AND IMPORTANCE TO POLITICAL AND
CIVIL RIGHTS AND TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. PRESIDENT
CARTER SO INDICATED IN SIGNING THE TWO UN CONVENANTS ON CIVIL
AND POLITICAL AND ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AT THE UN
LAST FALL. HE SO INDICATED AGAIN IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION
ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, JANUARY
19 OF THIS YEAR, WHEN HE DECLARED AS THE PURPOSES OF OUR
COUNTRY'S POLICY -- AND I QUOTE -- "TO ENSURE ECONOMIC JUSTICE,
TO ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS, TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS WITHOUT
VIOLENCE, AND TO PROCLAIM OUR CONSTANT FAITH IN THE LIBERTY
AND DIGNITY OF HUMAN BEINGS EVERYWHERE." AND HE WENT ON TO SAY
SPECIFICALLY THAT THE RIGHT TO WORK, THE RIGHT TO A JOB,
IS A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT. THIS IS NOT ONLY HIS PERSONAL
COMMITMENT. THIS IS THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT. I WOULD FURTHER CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO THE PORTION
OF THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS THAT MAKES CLEAR THE PRIMARY
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SIGNIFICANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES NOT ONLY TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL IN THE CONDUCT OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY, BUT TO THIS BELGRADE CONFERENCE IN PARTICULAR. IF THE DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO READ THIS ADDRESS THEY WILL SEE THAT THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECTION IS DEDICATED TO THIS CONFERENCE.

MY DELEGATION IS CONCERNED, THEREFORE, WHEN IT LEARNS OF NEW REPRESSIVE MEASURES OR WHEN IT HEARS OF PLEAS MADE BY INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR SUCH BASIC RIGHTS AS THE RIGHT TO HOLD JOBS AND TO PURSUE THEIR PROFESSION EVEN IF THEY HAVE EXPRESSED VIEWS THAT DO NOT ACCORD WITH THE OFFICIAL VIEWS OF THE RULERS OF THE COUNTRY. WE ARE CONCERNED, FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN WE HEAR AS WE HAVE DURING THESE LAST FEW DAYS, OF APPEALS FROM SOVIET SCIENTISTS THAT THEY ARE HINDERED IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR PROFESSION -- THAT THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED, FOR EXAMPLE, TO MEET FREELY WITH THEIR WESTERN COUNTERPARTS -- BECAUSE THEY HAVE EXPRESSED UNPOPULAR VIEWS. AND, AS THEIR STATEMENT INDICATES, AFTER BEING SO DEPRIVED, MANY OF THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT EVEN ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE, THOUGH THEIR PROFESSIONAL LIVES AT HOME HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY HAMPERED AND, INDEED, FINISHED. SUCH ACTION IS CONTRARY NOT ONLY TO THE HUMANITARIAN PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, BUT ALSO TO THE SCIENTIFIC PROVISIONS IN BASKET TWO. SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION, INCLUDING EXCHANGES OF SCIENTISTS, WHICH I FULLY SUPPORT, AS DOES MY GOVERNMENT, AS AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO DETENTE, REQUIRES THAT SCIENTISTS BE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS AND TO MEET WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES WITHOUT POLITICAL CENSORSHIP. THE FUTURE OF SUCH IMPORTANT COOPERATION, WHICH IS THE SUBJECT OF PROPOSALS BEFORE THIS CONFERENCE, REQUIRES THAT WE TAKE NOTE OF THIS FACT.

THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE SAID
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THAT THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS DETERRED CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AT BELGRADE BY EMPHASIZING HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS IS A PATENTLY DIVERSIONARY TACTIC THAT I WOULD NOT EVEN TAKE NOTICE OF EXCEPT THAT AN EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO SPREAD WORD THROUGH THE CORRIDORS THAT, WERE IT NOT FOR THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO BE MUCH MORE FORTHCOMING IN THE SESSION THAT WE HAVE RESUMED. EVERY EXPERIENCED DIPLOMAT AND OBSERVER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE KNOWS THAT THIS ASSERTION IS SPURIOUS. THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT BEEN DETERRED FROM PURSUING DETENTE BECAUSE TO THIS DAY WE HAVE MANY,

MANY TIMES BEEN CRITICIZED BY THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS TRUE
OF MANY OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL.

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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 5 BELGRADE 0657

DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV, PA FOR MR. RESTON,
DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. SCHECTER FROM USDEL CSCE

BUT HERE AT BELGRADE, OUR CONFERENCE HAS BEEN OBLIGED BY THE
FINAL ACT ITSELF TO REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION CANDIDLY. THIS IS
WHAT THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS ATTEMPTED TO DO, AND I AM
GLAD TO SAY THAT WE HAVE BEEN JOINED IN THIS EFFORT BY OTHER
DELEGATIONS, NOT ONLY OF THE WEST BUT NEUTRAL AND NON
-ALIGNED AS WELL AND, INDEED, SOME EASTERN COUNTRIES. BECAUSE
OF THESE COMMON EFFORTS, OUR MEETING WAS, ON THE WHOLE,
SUCCESSFUL UP TO DECEMBER 22.

AT THAT TIME -- AT THE CHRISTMAS ADJOURNMENT-- THERE WAS
AGREEMENT THAT WE WOULD WORK ON POINTS FIVE AND SIX OF THE AGENDA,
WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ANY DELEGATION COULD RAISE
ANY SUBJECT IT WISHED IN PLENARY. THIS IS THE RIGHT THAT MY
DELEGATION IS EXERCISING TODAY. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD WHEN WE
ADJOURNED FOR THE HOLIDAYS THAT, SUBJECT TO THIS PROVISION,
THE CONFERENCE WOULD RETURN IN JANUARY TO DRAFT A MUTUALLY
AGGEEABLE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT WOULD UP OUR WORK. TO THIS
END, WE ARRIVED AT A CONSENSUS TO CREATE DRAFTING GROUPS TO
ASSIST THE PLENARY.

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EVERY DELEGATION HERE KNOWS, HOWEVER, THAT TWO WEEKS HAVE NOW PASSED WITH ALMOST NO GENUINE NEGOTIATION RELEVANT TO THE DRAFTING OF LANGUAGE WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THESE GROUPS. WHY IS THIS SO? WE MUST RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM IF WE ARE TO ACCOMPLISH OUR TASK.

I BELIEVE THE ANSWER IS THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION TABLED A DOCUMENT, BM/70, AND THEN HAS INSISTED, POLITELY TO BE SURE, BUT INSISTED IN EFFECT IN EVERY DRAFTING GROUP THAT ITS DOCUMENT MUST BE ACCEPTED, WITH ONLY COSMETIC CHANGES, AS THE BASIS FOR OUR MEETING'S CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. I REFER NOT ONLY TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AREAS ABOUT WHICH MY DELEGATION HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST, REFLECTING THE SPECIAL INTEREST OF OUR PRESIDENT, AND WHICH IS COMPLETELY ABSENT FROM THE SOVIET DOCUMENT, BUT ABOUT ALL AREAS OF THE FINAL ACT AND THE WORK OF THIS MEETING.

WHEN THE SOVIET DOCUMENT WAS FILED ON JANUARY 17, I OUTLINED THE UNITED STATES' VIEWS ON WHAT IN OUR OPINION A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD CONTAIN. A NUMBER OF OTHER DELEGATIONS SPOKE ALONG SIMILAR LINES. APPARENTLY, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET DELEGATION WISHES TO BRUSH ASIDE THESE IDEAS WHICH ARE NOT ITS IDEAS. I MUST STRESS THESE IDEAS REPRESENT A WIDE SPECTRUM OF PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY WESTERN, NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AND EVEN SOCIALIST DELEGATIONS. UNTIL JANUARY 17, IN FACT, WE THOUGHT THESE WERE ALSO THE IDEAS OF THE SOVIET UNION WHOSE DELEGATION HAS OFTEN SPOKEN OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WITH REAL SUBSTANCE. INDEED, MR. CHAIRMAN, IT IS THE VIEW OF MY DELEGATION AND OF OTHERS THAT THIS IS WHAT WE ARE MANDATED TO DO.

THE IDEAS OF ALL DELEGATIONS SHOULD, MR. CHAIRMAN, BE GIVEN DUE RESPECT AND SOBER CONSIDERATION. IT IS A UNIQUE FEATURE
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OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS THAT EVERY COUNTRY, LARGE OR SMALL, HAS THE EQUAL RIGHT TO PUT FORTH PROPOSALS FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. REGRETTABLY THE SOVIET DOCUMENT DOES NOT ACCORD THIS DUE RESPECT AND SOBER CONSIDERATION THAT IS REQUIRED IF WE ARE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT ADVANCES DETENTE.

EVERY COUNTRY, OF COURSE, WANTS TO SEE ITS OWN PARTICULAR VIEWS REFLECTED IN ANY INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENT. MY GOVERNMENT REALIZES, AS I SAID TUESDAY, A WEEK AGO, THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN BELGRADE IN AN EFFORT TO FIND FRUITFUL COMMON GROUND BETWEEN 35 GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE EQUAL

STATUS AT THIS MEETING. THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION IS PREPARED TO WORK TO FIND COMMON GROUND ON THE IMPORTANT MATTERS WITH WHICH THIS MEETING HAS BEEN DEALING FOR FOUR MONTHS. WE CANNOT CONCEIVE THAT IN A CONFERENCE OF 35 SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES GOVERNED BY RULES SPECIFIED IN THE FINAL ACT, THE SOVIET UNION IS PRESENTING A DOCUMENT ON WHAT APPROACHES, EXCEPT FOR COSMETIC CHANGES, A TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT BASIS. THIS CONCEPT WOULD BE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE IN A CONFERENCE THAT, LIKE HELSINKI, GIVES TO EACH COUNTRY AN EQUAL VOICE AND AN EQUAL SHARE IN THE BUILDING OR THE DENIAL OF CONSENSUS.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV, PA FOR MR. RESTON,
DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. SCHECTER FROM USDEL CSCE

BUT SURELY IT IS CLEAR TO ALL OF US HERE THAT THE SOVIET DRAFT IS AN INADEQUATE INSTRUMENT TO SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. IT DOES NOT EVEN APPROACH THE MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS AS THE FORMAL EXPRESSION AND SUMMATION OF THE FOUR MONTHS OF WORK WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN HERE IN BELGRADE. ITS DEFICIENCIES IN THIS RESPECT MUST BE APPARENT EVEN TO ITS DRAFTERS. LET ME ENUMERATE JUST A FEW OF THEM:

-- THE MANY WEEKS OF PAINSTAKING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION SINCE THE FINAL ACT WAS SIGNED ARE DISMISSED ALMOST AS THOUGH THE REVIEW NEVER TOOK PLACE.

-- A MAJOR ASPECT OF THAT REVIEW, OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, THE QUESTION OF COMPLIANCE ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES AND HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHTS OF

THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION OR BELIEF, IS UTTERLY AND COMPLETELY IGNORED.

AS FOR THE MANY SERIOUS PROPOSALS OFFERED AND DEBATED, FROM COUNTRIES OF ALL IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS, THE SOVIET UNCLASSIFIED

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PROPOSAL SIMPLY DISMISSES VIRTUALLY ALL OF THEM:
THUS:

-- WITH RESPECT TO THE PRINCIPLES SECTION OF THE FINAL ACT NO ACCOUNT IS TAKEN OF ANY OF THE NUMEROUS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ADVANCED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENCOURAGING IMPROVED IMPLEMENTATION OF PRINCIPLE VII WHICH PLAINLY CALLS FOR RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION AND BELIEF.

-- THE MANY CONCRETE PROPOSALS OFFERED WITH RESPECT TO CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE FIND NO EXPRESSION. IT IS INSTEAD PROPOSED THAT DISCUSSION OF THESE BE POSTPONED TO ANOTHER PLACE AND TIME. THEY OUGHT TO BE DEALT WITH HERE. NOR IS THERE ANY MENTION OF OUR EXTENSIVE REVIEW IN PLENARY AND BASKET ONE ON HOW EXISTING CMBS HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED.

-- CONCERNING BASKET II MATTERS, THE DRAFT PUTS FORWARD ONLY THE SOVIET UNION'S PROPOSALS, COMPLETELY IGNORING THE BULK OF SERIOUS PROPOSALS ADVANCED BY THE WEST, BY THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AND EVEN BY MANY OF THE EASTERN STATES. MOREOVER, THERE IS NO REPORT OF THE BASKET II DEFICIENCIES MADE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR IN THE REVIEW SESSIONS OF OUR MEETING.

-- AS FOR BASKET III PROPOSALS, CONCRETE REFERENCES TO MANY WEEKS OF REVIEW BOTH IN PLENARY AND IN COMMITTEE ARE MEANINGLESSLY BRIEF AND VAGUE. SOME 40-ODD PROPOSALS IN THIS AREA WERE PRESENTED TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT. THESE HAVE CONCERNED SUCH HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS AS FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND FAMILY VISITS. THEY HAVE INCLUDED FREER TRAVEL AMONG OUR NATIONS AND PROPOSALS REGARDING SPECIFIC MEASURES RELATING TO VISAS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE. LEST IT BE UNCLASSIFIED

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MISTAKENLY BELIEVED THAT I DIRECT THESE STATEMENTS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION ALONE, I NOTE THAT MY OWN GOVERNMENT IS NOT FAULTLESS IN THE VISA AREA. THEY HAVE INCLUDED PROPOSALS TO FACILITATE THE WORK OF JOURNALISTS AND THE FLOW OF INFORMATION

BETWEEN US. AND THEY HAVE INCLUDED PROPOSALS TO HELP FACILITATE CULTUREAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE. YET IN THE SOVIET DRAFT, VIRTUALLY ALL OF THESE ARE REDUCED TO A HIGHLY UNSPECIFIC EXPRESSION OF "A READINESS TO CONTINUE" COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN MATTERS AND A SCATTERING OF THE OTHER BASKET III ITEMS DEBATED AT LENGTH YB US HERE.

WHEN BM/70 WAS TABLED, I MADE AN INTERVENTION ABOUT OUR VIEWS ON THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AS DID OTHERS INCLUDING DENMARK, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, CANADA, FRANCE, THE NETHERLANDS, ITALY, AUSTRIA, IRELAND, YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA. WE AND OTHERS EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT MUST BE A FULL AND SUBSTANTIVE REFLECTION OF OUR PROCEEDINGS HERE, VIEWS THAT THE SOVIET DOCUMENT SUMMARILY DISMISSES.

NOW, MR. CHAIRMAN, IT HAS BEEN INTIMATED THAT HOWEVER INSUFFICIENT THE SOVIET DOCUMENT MAY BE, IT IS THE ONLY DOCUMENT AVAILABLE -- NO OTHER HAS BEEN SUBMITTED.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV, PA FOR MR. RESTON,
DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. SCHECTER FROM USDEL CSCE

PATENTLY THIS IS NOT SO. THERE ARE USEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE COVERING ALL AREAS OF OUR WORK. THESE INCLUDE, AS A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS HAVE PUT FORWARD, DISARMAMENT CONSIDERATIONS, THE MEDITERRANEAN PROBLEM AND INDEED ALL THE BASKETS OF THE FINAL ACT, IN GREATER DETAIL THAN THE SOVIET DRAFT. THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN

SUBMITTED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS. ALL THESE PROPOSALS MUST BE NEGOTIATED SUBSTANTIVELY. THEY CANNOT BE PUSHED UNDER THE RUG. THIS IS, I REPEAT, FOR MY DELEGATION, PARTICULARLY TRUE OF THE IMPORTANT PROPOSALS WHICH THE UNITED STATES ALONG WITH OTHER SPONSORS PUT FORWARD RELATING TO THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, RELIGION AND BELIEF.

I WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT IS NOT THE LENGTH OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT IS THE DETERMINING FACTOR, RATHER, IT IS THE POLITICAL SUBSTANCE. WE, AND I BELIEVE THE GREAT MAJORITY OF DELEGATIONS, ARE EARNESTLY STRIVING FOR A SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT THAT DEALS CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED, REFLECTING ADOPTION OF THOSE WHICH SEEK TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS AND EXPLAINING WHY OTHERS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS. THIS IS THE WAY A RESPONSIBLE INTERNATIONAL BODY ENTRUSTED WITH AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN FURTHERING DETENTE SHOULD AND MUST FUNCTION. THIS IS THE WAY THE BELGRADE MEETING AND THE CONTINUING CSCE PROCESS SHOULD FUNCTION.

I WOULD STRESS AGAIN, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT THE SOVIET DOCUMENT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO MY DELEGATION. IT FAILS TO MEET THE STANDARDS TO WHICH I HAVE JUST REFERRED. BASIC TO THIS CONCEPT IS THAT WESTERN, NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AND EASTERN DELEGATIONS HAVE PUT FORWARD DOCUMENTS THAT DO MEET THESE STANDARDS. THERE ARE MANY DOCUMENTS THAT FAR PRECEDED THE SOVIET DRAFT. IT IS AN OPEN SECRET, AND IT HAS BEEN SAID ALSO IN THE CORRIDORS, THAT THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS PREPARED A DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT SUMMARIZES THE MANY PROPOSALS THAT WE CONSIDER ARE PRODUCTIVE AND SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE PRODUCT OF THIS CONFERENCE. WE HAVE NOT FILED FOR A SIMPLE REASON, AND THAT IS THAT WE HAVE BEEN ANXIOUS TO FACILITATE AND NOT INHIBIT THE DRAFTING PROCESS. WHEN AND IF IT WILL FACILITATE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, WE WILL FILE IT AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

UNDER OUR PRESENT GRID, THE DRAFTING GROUPS HAVE TWO MORE WEEKS TO WORK WITH THE PLENARY ON A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. EVERY DELEGATE HERE MUST AGREE THAT THUS FAR THE DRAFTING GROUPS HAVE, BY AND LARGE, NOT BEEN ABLE TO DO MEANINGFUL DRAFTING. I MUST REGRETFULLY, AND I DO NOT SAY THIS POLEMICALLY, ATTRIBUTE THIS TO SOVIET RECALCITRANCE, WHICH, IN LIGHT OF THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BEFORE WE ADJOURNED IS DIFFICULT FOR ME NOW TO UNDERSTAND.

TIME PRESSES, BUT WE STILL HAVE AN ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY. TO USE AN AMERICAN COLLOQUIALISM, IN LIGHT OF THE FACT WE UNCLASSIFIED

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ARE A CONFERENCE BOUND BY THE YELLOW BOOK, AND MINDFUL
OF THE GRID, WE MUST GET DOWN TO BRASS TACKS.

TO THE END OF ACHIEVING THE GOOD RESULT WE ALL SHOULD HOPE FOR,
THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AROUND
THE CLOCK AND SEVEN DAYS A WEEK IN ORDER TO REACH AGREEMENT ON
A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND SO THAT OUR MEETING
CAN END ITS WORK ON A SATISFACTORY BASIS WITHIN A REASONABLE AMOUNT
OF TIME. WE WILL NEGOTIATE IN THE DRAFTING GROUPS, IN
PLENARY, IN CONTACT GROUPS OR WHEREVER AND HOWEVER IT APPEARS
THAT FRUITFUL WORK CAN BE DONE. BUT WE, AND OTHERS, CANNOT
NEGOTIATE WITHOUT THE ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF ALL
PARTICIPANTS IN THIS MEETING.

LET ME NOW EMPHASIZE A FUNDAMENTAL POINT. LET THERE
BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES IN
DETENTE. WE BELIEVE, IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT, THAT
DETENTE REQUIRES MUTUAL GOODWILL, TRUST, CONFIDENCE AND COMPROMISE.
WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN BELGRADE THE PAST TWO WEEKS DOES NOT
FURTHER THE PURPOSES OF DETENTE WITHIN THE SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF
THAT TERM AS USED IN THE FINAL ACT. WHAT WOULD FURTHER DETENTE
WOULD BE FOR US TO EMERGE FROM BELGRADE ON THE HIGH NOTE OF ADOPTION
OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WITH REAL POLITICAL SUBSTANCE,
WITH AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC PRACTICAL MEASURES TO IMPROVE
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT SIGNED AT THE SUMMIT IN
HELSINKI IN 1975.

FOR OUR PART, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION IS PREPARED TO STAY
IN BELGRADE UNTIL WE HAVE ACHIEVED A SUBSTANTIVE
DOCUMENT THAT REFLECTS THE WISHES NOT ONLY OF ALL THE COUNTRIES
REPRESENTED HERE, BUT OF ALL THEIR PEOPLES AS WELL. AND INDEED,
ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WATCHING OUR PROCEEDINGS. I EXPRESS THE
HOPE THAT, AFTER SOBER CONSIDERATION, ALL DELEGATIONS WILL
HAVE THIS SAME RESOLVE.

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN.

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PAGE 04 BELGRA 00657 05 OF 05 280026Z

END TEXT.
GOLDBERG

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Channel Indicators: n/a
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Concepts: n/a
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Draft Date: 27 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
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Review Event:
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Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3704153
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE -- AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S STATEMENT ON SOVIET POSITION AT BELGRADE FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASS
TAGS: OCON, CSCE
To: STATE USIA
Type: TE
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Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
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